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ABSTRACT

Group participation by Israeli youth is examined in light of the Theory of Status Characteristics and Expectation States. This theory maintains that social and/or group status influences expectations of competence and triggers self-fulfilling prophecies of performance. An experiment designed to prevent unwanted dominance of high status participants was conducted among 15 four person control groups and 45 four person experimental groups of Israeli youth of different ethnic backgrounds. It was hypothesized that the greater initiation and influence of Jews of Western ethnic background (as compared with Jews of Middle Eastern background) would diminish in groups receiving expectation training. Group tasks involved youth in activities including conversing in foreign languages, constructing geometric models, playing simulation games, assembling radios from kits, and constructing three dimensional puzzles. Project staff praised achievements of quick and slow learners equally and worked with all students until they could teach tasks to their trainers. Statistical analysis by ethnic background of boys in both groups indicates that Western influence, which was significant in the control groups, was greatly reduced in groups involved in the experimental training. Findings related to the effects of expectation training on initiation data are less clear. Applications of expectation training to the classroom are discussed. (DB)

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Modifying Status Relations in Israel Youth: An Application of Expectation States Theory*

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Modifying Status Relations in Israel Youth: An Application of Expectation States Theory

Expectation Training is a treatment designed to prevent unwanted dominance of high status participants in a mixed-status task group. Expectation Training has been shown to produce equal status interaction in four-person interracial groups of junior high school boys (Cohen and Roper, 1972). In successfully treated groups, one cannot predict by status which participants will be more active or influential on the task. In untreated groups, high status members are more active and influential than low status members. The explanation for the status order of the small groups which replicates the status order of the larger society is taken from the Theory of Status Characteristics and Expectation States (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, 1966, 1972). The principles of Expectation Training were also based on the theory.

Theoretically, the phenomenon of white dominance in the United States occurs because of general expectations for superior competence of whites held by many whites and blacks. These expectations are capable of triggering a self-fulfilling prophecy in a new situation where there is no rational reason to expect members of one race to be more competent than members of the other race. Status distinctions with generalized expectations of this kind are termed "Diffuse Status Characteristics."

Expectation Training is designed to neutralize these general expectations based on status by having the low status child become a teacher of the high status child on a challenging new task. In this way, low status children are clearly assigned a high value on competence at the training task and on competence in teaching the task. These expectations for competence stemming from training are combined with differential expectations for competence based on race or ethnicity in such a way that high status children no longer have markedly higher expectations for their competence on the criterion task

than expectations for low status children (Berger and Conner, 1974).

In this paper we report on an application of Expectation Training to the problem of interaction between high and low status ethnic groups in Israel. The purpose of this report is to illustrate how the generality of such an application may be put to a systematic test. Unless social scientists can find a way to move between one setting and the next so that principles of relationship may be said to be general, the model of physical science with its general theories is not a workable one for social phenomena.

Cronbach noted the grave difficulty in applying empirical generalizations from one study to a similar study in another setting because of interactions of the factors originally investigated with factors new and peculiar to the second setting. Although Cronbach points out that a nomothetic theory capable of stating the boundary conditions under which propositions hold could contribute to the solution of this problem, he despairs of the availability of such theories at the present time (Cronbach, 1975).

We agree with Cronbach that empirical generalizations from one study cannot be directly applied to another in the hopes of cumulating knowledge. We do not agree that the use of general principles with boundary or scope conditions is presently impractical in social science. Testing the applicability of Expectation Training to status problems in Israel illustrates the use of a theory, and previous research programs based on that theory, to "build a bridge" between settings which are very different in many historical and cultural particulars.

More specifically, we were able to use propositions from the Theory of Status Characteristics and Expectation States as well as explicit statements

of scope conditions embodied in the theory. Scope conditions are statements about the applicability of general principles, the conditions under which general principles are assumed to be true (B. P. Cohen, 1974). We also had the advantage of a prior research program on Expectation Training including an explicit, theoretically derived explanation for the effects of the treatment as well as a standardized method of making observations about the prestige and power order of a mixed status group under scope conditions provided by the general theory.

In presenting the studies in Israel, we make use of the "statement model" developed by B. P. Cohen (unpublished manuscript) in order to make explicit the hypotheses tested and the process of linking different settings. The statement model involves (1) statements of general principles (theoretical propositions); (2) statements of the scope conditions under which we may expect to find that the general principles hold; (3) statements of initial conditions--linking statements between the theoretical terms embodied in general principles and the specific observation terms (containing terms referring to time and place); and (4) observation statements which are similar to the specific hypotheses for a given study in operational language (B.P. Cohen, unpublished manuscript).

General Principles

We use two sets of general principles which correspond to the two stages of a study necessary for applying Expectation Training to a different cultural setting involving a new and different instance of a Diffuse Status Characteristic. The baseline study first tested the proposition that the two major Jewish ethnic groups in Israel at the present time provide a genuine instance of the operation of generalized expectations attached to a Diffuse Status Characteristic. Given evidence of a status problem, we proceeded to test the effectiveness of Expectation Training in the new setting.

The first statement of general principles explains how Diffuse Status Characteristics come to determine the distribution of power and prestige in mixed status groups. These propositions are identical with the Theory of Status Characteristics and Expectations States. (For a complete theoretical exposition, see Berger, Cohen and Zelditch, 1972).

The second set of general principles comes from the development of Expectation Training. Assigning low status participants a high value on a General Performance Characteristic will decrease the differentiation in prestige and power in treated as compared to untreated groups (see Cohen and Roper, 1972). In Expectation Training, the low status person receives an assignment of high competence on two related abilities making up the General Performance Characteristic.

Scope Conditions

The self-fulfilling prophecy described by Status Characteristic Theory will occur at least when the following scope conditions are met: a collective task, a competence perceived to be relevant to success on the task, no basis for differentiation in the group other than the diffuse status characteristic and no specific cultural beliefs attached to competence on the particular task.

Initial Conditions

Research on Expectation Training has identified a number of different instances of Diffuse Status Characteristics such as race, ethnic group, and sex. In order to make this identification we use a criterion task for four-person groups with two high status persons and two low status persons. The Israel baseline study used this task designed to meet scope conditions; it is a board game requiring the group to decide as a team which way they are going to proceed over a series of turns. Initiation rates are measured

by counting speeches made by the participants and recorded on videotapes. Influence rates are measured by determining which group member made and argued for the final decision taken by the group. Initiation and influence rates are seen as instances of the theoretical concept of "prestige and power order."

To summarize these statements of initial conditions: (1) The distinction between Middle Eastern and Western Jews in Israel is identified as an instance of a Diffuse Status Characteristic; (2) Differential initiation and influence rates on the standard criterion task are instances of differential prestige and power in the group; (3) Expectation Training is an instance of the assignment of a high value on a General Performance Characteristic to the low status persons in the group.

Observation Statements

The observation statement to be tested in the baseline was:

> In untreated groups in a task meeting scope conditions, Jews of Western ethnic background will have more initiation and influence than those of Middle-Eastern background.

In the Israel Expectation Training experiment, there were three conditions. Two versions of Expectation Training were contrasted with untreated groups. One version contained two academic tasks and the other version contained two non-academic tasks. The hypothesis, or observation statement to be tested in the Expectation Training experiment was as follows:

> There will be less differentiation in initiation and influence rates between Western and Middle-Eastern

Jews in groups receiving Expectation Training than in untreated groups.

The contrast between the two versions of Expectation Training, Academic and Non-Academic, was of an exploratory nature suggested by several theoretical and practical issues. We were concerned with the problems arising from academic status distinctions in addition to those stemming from ethnic membership between children in the classroom settings.

Ethnic Status in Israel: Background

Israel's Jewish population (approximately 3 million) is comprised of two major ethnic groups: Western Jews from European, English-speaking and South American countries, and Middle-Eastern Jews from countries whose dominant culture is Moslem (such as Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lybia, Morroco, Syria, Tunesia, Turkey, Yemen). The latter group comprises more than 50% of Israel's total Jewish population. They also constitute the bulk of Israel's lower socio-economic class, they are less represented in executive management and occupy lower positions in the Civil Service than do Jews of Western ethnic backgrounds (Civil Service Commission, 1968; Smooha, 1975; statistical Abstract of Israel, 1975). Children of Middle-Eastern background evidence lower levels of academic and cognitive achievement and are less represented in institutions of higher learning than their peers from Western ethnic backgrounds (Ortar, 1967; Preale, Amir & Sharan, 1970; Peres, 1976). Data gathered from high school students reveal that persons of Middle-Eastern background are evaluated more negatively, and are less preferred by themselves as well as by their Western peers, than are persons of Western background (Amir, Sharan et al, 1976). These findings from demographic, cognitive and attitudinal measures indicate that Middle-Eastern Jews constitute a low-status group in Israel society.

However, several aspects of the Middle-Eastern Jews' position in Israel society differ markedly from that of the ethnic minority groups in the United States. There is considerable overlap of visible physical characteristics between most sub-groups of Middle-Eastern and Western Jews. Also, there has never been any formal policy of public discrimination based on ethnic identity. Finally, the low status group in Israel enjoys a slight numerical majority. These important differences in social conditions between the United States and Israel preclude any automatic application to Israel of research findings about ethnic relations obtained in the United States.

Subjects and Procedures

In the baseline study there were 15 four-person groups, with two boys of Western and two of Middle-Eastern background in each group although all were native born. In the Expectation Training experiment there were 45 such groups divided among three conditions: Academic, Non-Academic and a No-Treatment Control. Subjects for the experiment were in the seventh and eighth grades from 20 elementary schools in the Tel-Aviv area. Students from different ethnic groups who were in the same classroom were not in the same four-person groups.

Identification and background data, including self ratings on academic ability, were obtained from potential subjects by administering a questionnaire in school classrooms. Only Western subjects with the very highest academic self rating were not included since the quality and level of their talking would activate an academic status characteristic in both training conditions (Non-Academic and as well as Academic), rather than having the academic status activated by the nature of the training task.

Subjects were brought to offices in a shopping district for the experiment; they came individually by taxi. The entire training and testing sequence lasted approximately nine hours. Western subjects were present for only three of those hours.

The Training Tasks

All training was done on a one-to-one basis: first, one trainer with one Middle-Eastern student, and, then, one of the latter with one Western student. Training of Middle-Eastern students continued until they reached the criterion of being able to teach the tasks to their trainers. There were two training tasks in each of the two conditions. In the Academic condition, subjects were told that the experiment was trying out new ways of teaching materials similar to what is taught in school. They learned to carry on a short conversation in Malay. In addition, students learned to construct three-dimensional geometric models, using pipe cleaners and colorful straws, with the aid of a mathematical formula (Euler's formula). Although the academic quality of the tasks was stressed, no writing and only a limited amount of reading was actually required to perform these tasks well. Non-Academic Expectation Training consisted of assembling a radio and burglar alarm from a prepared kit, and learning how to construct a three-dimensional puzzle from interlocking parts.

Expectation Training in this experiment, as in earlier work, included the use of consistent praise of the low status student for learning at every state of his progress; competent performance of the low status child was videotaped and shown to both low and high status children; specific steps were taken to point out to low status subjects the relevance of their competence for performing the criterion tasks (see Cohen and Roper, 1972).

It was critically important to activate ethnic status characteristics. The baseline study conducted some time before the experiment indicated that Israel youth did not always spontaneously identify members of different Jewish ethnic groups. Therefore, special steps were included in the conduct of the experiment to insure that this information was made known to all the members of each four-person group. After conclusion of the training of the Western by the Middle-Eastern subject, two such pairs were formed into four-person groups for the criterion tasks.

Two criterion tasks were employed in all three conditions of this experiment. One task, called Desert Survival, is based on the well-known NASA task "Survival on the Moon." This challenging decision-making task was introduced to all subjects as a task being developed for use in school. Groups were to imagine that their plane crash-landed in the desert, and only 15 items potentially useful for their survival were saved. The goal was to rank the 15 items in terms of their order of usefulness for the groups' survival. Picture cards of all the items were provided, and the groups were asked to reach consensus about the rank importance of each item and to inform the host experimentor when a decision about each item had been reached.

The second task, always performed in this experiment after Desert Survival, was the same criterion task employed in the baseline study, a board game called Shoot-the-Moon (Cohen and Roper, 1972). Each group performed the two criterion tasks in immediate sequence, and the entire session was filmed on videotape. Seating arrangements in each of the four positions around the table were determined by having subjects draw a number out of a hat.

Upon completion of the criterion tasks, each subject was interviewed by a staff member using a short questionnaire.

Dependent Measures

Initiation rates (number of speeches relevant to the task by each actor) and influence scores (number of times each individual proposed a solution adopted as the group's final decision) were taken from the tapes of each task. The influence measure also gave credit to actors who argued for points which became group decisions.

Reliability between four raters (scoring tapes blindly) was assessed by counting disagreements on the number of acts or influence points assigned to each actor. The percentage of disagreements out of total acts or points assigned was 6% or less in each of three reliability checks on initiation and influence.

Baseline Study

In the 15 groups of the baseline study, initiation and influence of the two ethnic groups were compared by taking a percentage in each group of the total acts or influence contributed by each Middle-Eastern and each Western subject. The two members of each ethnic pair were distinguished as the More Active and Less Active. A mean percentage was then calculated across all groups for each of the four actors. Table 1 presents the mean percentage of initiation rates and influence scores.

Table 1 about here

In order to analyze these data it is necessary to make a judgement as to how well they fit a model of "equal status behavior." If there were four hypothetical actors in each group to whom we assigned acts on a random basis, each one would, at the limit, have 25% of the interaction. If, however, we treat the observed data by ranking actors on activity rate and then calculating a mean percentage of acts by activity rank, instead

of an even distribution of acts across actors, we will achieve a set of unequal mean percentages which decrease from the most active to the least active actor.

A Monte Carlo model was developed by Lockheed (1976) to represent the mean percentage initiation for each of four actors ranked by activity over a hypothetical 100 groups. The histogram in Figure 1 illustrates the mean percentages calculated from the Monte Carlo model. We have also inserted in Figure 1 the observed percentages from the baseline study. The observed mean percentage for each actor is pictured closest to the hypothetical actor whom he most resembles. Comparisons between observed and expected values are made for the most active pairs of actors. For each pair, if the actor of higher social status in the observed data resembles a more active hypothetical actor than the observed low status actor, we may characterize the data as departing from the equal status model.

Examination of Figure 1 reveals that the more active Westerner closely resembles the most active model actor, while the more active Middle-Eastern subjects were midway between the first two actors. The distinction between the other pair is sharper, with the Less Active Westerner resembling the third actor and the Less Active Middle-Easterner closely resembling the least active actor. The observed pattern clearly departs from the equal-status model.

The influence scores repeat the pattern observable in the initiation data. The Middle-Easterners are less influential than the Westerners.

Figure 1 about here

Results of Training Experiment

The two treatments may be compared to the control condition on initiation and influence rates, scored separately for the two tasks. Both

of these tasks meet scope conditions, but Desert Survival is much more demanding intellectually because the group was informed that there is an optimal ranking determined by a panel of experts and because the procedural problems of reaching a consensus on a rank ordering of 15 objects are considerable. The mean percentages for each actor in three conditions are given in Table 2; initiation and influence data are presented separately.

Table 2 about here

Initiation data for the control groups in Table 2 on Shoot-the-Moon resemble percentages obtained in the baseline study. Data obtained from the control groups with the Desert Survival task also conform closely to the findings from the baseline study.

The standard deviations of these means are quite large, especially for the Influence score; influence tends to be sharply differentiated in many groups; one person may have the "lion's share" of influence and one other actor may receive no influence score. On both Shoot-the-Moon and Desert Survival, the influence of the More Active Westerner is greatly reduced in the treatment conditions in comparison with the control condition. On the Shoot-the-Moon Task, the More Active Middle-Eastern subjects emerged as more influential in the treated conditions than their Western counterparts. In the Desert Survival Influence comparison, the dominance of the More Active Westerner is greatly weakened in the Academic Condition and disappears in the Non-Academic Condition.

What happens to the Less Active actors is, of course, not independent of changes in the percentages of influence attributed to the other two actors. Nevertheless, the comparison of treatment conditions for the influence measure shows a depression of influence for the less Active

Westerner and an increase in influence for the Less Active Middle-Easterner. Again, Shoot-the-Moon shows a pattern of Middle-Eastern dominance while Desert Survival shows Middle-Eastern dominance only for the Non-Academic Condition. In order to perform statistical tests of the proposition that treatment improves the initiation and influence rates of Middle-Easterners in comparison to Westerners over what we observe in untreated groups, the two Middle-Eastern scores were added together and subtracted from the two Western scores in each group. We chose this particular statistic because it reflects a theoretically critical dimension, i.e., we are trying to modify the relative prestige and power of the Middle-Eastern vis-a-vis the Western subjects.

Because we are dealing with frequencies we chose the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance of ranks. This technique rank orders all the difference scores of the groups in three conditions and asks the question: Do the difference scores from the three conditions cluster in different parts of the rank order? If the three conditions are producing distinctive results, we will obtain a significant value of H; the Mann-Whitney U test may be used for specific differences between each of the treatment and control conditions.

Comparison of the difference in percentage initiation between Middle-Easterners and Westerners on Shoot-the-Moon yielded an H of 3.27 ($p < .10$). The same statistical test on initiation rates for Desert Survival also produced a non-significant finding ($H=2.56$). Because these values did not reach the .05 level of statistical significance we did not proceed with the Mann-Whitney U tests. On the influence measures we found statistically significant values of H for each of the criterion tasks

(Shoot-the-Moon: H= 7.04; $p < .05$; Desert Survival: H= 8.04; $p < .02$). When each treated condition is compared with the control condition on the influence measures we find values for U which are statistically significant ($p < .05$) for each treatment condition vs. the control condition on Desert Survival and Shoot-the-Moon.

Post-Treatment Data

Table 3 presents the number of times subjects from different ethnic groups were selected as being the group member who: A. expressed the best ideas during the group's performance of the criterion tasks; B. was liked most by fellow subjects; C. was named as having guided the group's discussion most of all. The number of choices is presented separately for each treatment condition; data are also divided by ethnicity of chooser and chosen. It should be noted that the frequencies represent the number of different persons who made a choice, whereas they do not reveal how many different persons were chosen, since different people could be selecting the same person.

The data in Table 3 indicate that many more persons chose Middle-Eastern subjects than Western subjects on all three questions in both treatment conditions as compared to the untreated condition (see rows marked Total). Expectation Training conditions show a decline in same-ethnic selections for the high-status group, an increase in cross-ethnic selections made by members of the high status group, and an increase in the amount of self-preference manifested by the low-status group.

Table 3 about here

Discussion

Evidence from the baseline study in Israel supports the proposition that interaction between Middle-Eastern and Western Jewish boys constitutes an example of a Diffuse Status Characteristic. In the four-person groups which participated in this study, the two Middle-Eastern boys, on the average, were less active and influential than the two Western boys. Comparison of the base-line data with the Monte Carlo model of equal status behavior shows a pattern of Western dominance, although other groups studied in the past in the U.S. and elsewhere revealed even more marked departure from the equal status model than that presented here (Cohen, 1972).

Analysis of the data from the Expectation Training experiment in Israel supports the prediction that treated groups will show less Western dominance in influencing group decision-making than will untreated groups. The proposition concerning the effect of training on the rate of initiation by Western subjects was not supported by the data, although differences between treated and untreated groups are in the expected direction. Post-treatment interview data also testify to the significant reduction in Western dominance in the treated groups. Western students in treated groups are much more likely to pick Middle-Eastern students as having the best ideas, as best liked, or as having done most to guide the group. Middle-Easterners show an increased preference for their own group in treated as compared to untreated groups.

The finding that the effects of Expectation Training are not as clear for initiation data as for influence data is probably due to the high overall rate of initiation in the Israel data in contrast to data obtained from other settings. Moreover, the correlation between initiation and influence rates in these data is lower than we have observed in other studies,

especially for the Desert Survival Task. (Using Pearson r, the correlation is .54 for Shoot-the-Moon and .33 for Desert Survival.) Earlier interaction studies of status characteristics found that when most of the subjects are talkative, as in upper middle class student populations, initiation becomes a less sensitive indicator of the power and prestige order.

In review, the experimental evidence obtained in this study can be taken as support for the generality of Expectation Training when baseline studies reveal the operation of a Diffuse Status Characteristic. Using a similar procedure of testing for the presence of a Diffuse Status Characteristic, Cook was successful in replicating the laboratory version of Expectation Training using Indian and White students in Vancouver, British Columbia (Cook, 1974). This illustrates the possibility of using a theory as a bridge between dissimilar cultural settings to study and treat status problems of social groups with completely different historical roots. Of course, there are many differences in the initiation and influence data from different settings.

Simultaneously with the Israel experiment, we conducted Expectation Training with dark-skinned Spanish surname students and Anglo students in California. Althought the baseline studies clearly show the operation of a diffuse status characteristic, Expectation Training was not successful in this study. Interpreting these results has presented some difficulties because it is not clear whether (a) there were technical flaws in the carrying out of Expectation Training which is a very demanding technique or whether (b) Chicano-Anglo interaction entails the operation of variables in addition to status which require new conceptualization and research. Further experimentation on these questions is presently under way.

Expectation Training in Schools

Expectation Training arose from an applied research program. A key question from the beginning has been the generality of this intervention for settings such as ethnically integrated schools. Analysis of the classroom in terms of Expectation States theory reveals a set of conditions which are not consistent with the initial scope conditions of the theory (Cohen, 1973). Despite this, we have been able to demonstrate that academic status operates exactly like a Diffuse Status Characteristic to produce self-fulfilling prophecies (Hoffman, 1972).

The Israel experiment included several features such as the two types of Expectation Training in order to explore the impact of academic status in combination with ethnic status. Analysis of the results shows no consistent pattern of difference between the Academic and Non-Academic treatments; both depressed Western influence. However, there is strong evidence that academic status affected influence scores, especially in the Control and Academic Treatment Conditions. Several items about perceived academic ability (recruitment questionnaire) show marked relationships with influence scores on the criterion tasks. For example, there is a marked association between saying that one "definitely has the ability to complete college" and having high scores on the influence measures on either criterion task. Of those who said they definitely had the ability to complete college (N=94), 42.5% have high scores (over 13) in Desert Survival influence, while of those who do not definitely think they have the ability (N=82), only 23% have such high influence scores. Comparable figures for Shoot-the-Moon influence are 40% vs. 17%.

One would imagine that the activation of academic status by the first of the two criterion tasks (Desert Survival) would have prevented the

success of Expectation Training. This was not the case because there were almost as many Middle-Easterners as Westerners who rated themselves highly on these perceived ability questions; 59% of the Westerners and 48% of the Middle-Easterners thought they definitely had the ability to complete college. If the results are grouped by ethnic status, we find that academic status was just as likely to predict influence for Middle-Easterners as it was for Westerners. Thus we have a cross-cutting status characteristic which went largely untreated in the Control and Academic Conditions.

In many integrated school settings, however, these two status characteristics are highly correlated so that those low on social status are also lower on academic status. The experimental evidence suggests just how serious a problem this can become with the activation of academic status relations by simple labeling as a "school task" the criterion task of Desert Survival which did not contain conventional academic elements such as reading, writing or computation. We do not know at this time, whether a treatment such as Expectation Training is sufficiently powerful to treat a case of combined status characteristics where both low values go to one set of actors. There is a most suggestive result in that the relationship of the "college ability" item to the Influence measure is much weaker in the Non-Academic Training condition than in the other two conditions. This interaction effect of the nature of the training task and academic status appears in the independent measures of both tasks.

It is by no means clear that Expectation Training, even of a non-academic character, is sufficiently powerful to treat a combination of academic and social status in a classroom situation. In order to deal with this problem we need further theoretical work on the combination of expectations

from different status characteristics. Are their effects additive so that the presence of low expectations from two different sources make intervention doubly difficult? Do we need one treatment for social status and another treatment for academic status? On-going work on the treatment of academic status involves major changes of curriculum and the evaluation system of the conventional classroom. In educational terms, it may well be the case that effective social integration in ethnically or racially desegregated classrooms demands changes in the way students work together, in curriculum and in evaluation techniques.

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Table 1. Mean Percentage of Acts Initiated and Influence Score Per Group for Each Ethnic Ranked by Activity: Baseline Study

Activity Rate	Ethnicity	Mean Percentages
	Initiation	
More Active	Western	33.63
	Middle-Eastern	30.72
Less Active	Western	20.79
	Middle-Eastern	16.21
	Influence	
More Active	Western	43.93
	Middle-Eastern	38.78
Less Active	Western	9.79
	Middle-Eastern	7.59

Table 2. Mean Percentage (and Standard Deviation) of Total Acts Per Group for Each Actor in Three Conditions: Initiation and Influence in Two Game Tasks

A. Initiation

Task	Actor	Control	Academic	Non-Academic
	N of Groups	15	16	14
Desert Survival	More Active Westerner	34.0(5.0)	32.8(4.2)	32.5(5.4)
	More Active Easterner	29.5(6.3)	30.5(6.0)	30.1(5.3)
	Less Active Westerner	21.1(7.6)	19.4(8.7)	15.4(5.9)
	Less Active Easterner	15.4(7.0)	17.4(5.0)	18.9(5.7)
	N of Groups	15	15	14
Shoot-the-Moon	More Active Westerner	33.9(4.6)	30.5(7.8)	31.5(7.8)
	More Active Easterner	31.2(6.3)	32.7(4.2)	30.4(4.2)
	Less Active Westerner	20.3(4.9)	18.1(7.4)	19.3(7.4)
	Less Active Easterner	15.4(4.5)	16.5(7.5)	18.8(7.7)

B. Influence

Task	Actor	Control	Academic	Non-Academic
	N of Groups	15	15	14
Desert Survival	More Active Westerner	43.5(16.2)	35.5(14.1)	36.4(16.3)
	More Active Easterner	24.0(11.8)	33.3(17.4)	37.2(18.9)
	Less Active Westerner	22.7(10.7)	15.0(9.8)	13.0(10.5)
	Less Active Easterner	9.8(6.7)	12.5(11.0)	12.9(18.9)
	N of Groups	15	16	14
Shoot-the-Moon	More Active Westerner	40.9(13.2)	28.9(18.1)	31.6(20.1)
	More Active Easterner	35.9(17.1)	46.8(22.5)	40.3(19.7)
	Less Active Westerner	14.5(9.4)	9.3(6.7)	12.2(15.3)
	Less Active Easterner	8.3(7.0)	11.6(13.2)	18.0(15.1)

Table 3. Number of Selections on Questions of Leadership and Liking by Ethnicity of Chooser and Chosen in Each Treatment

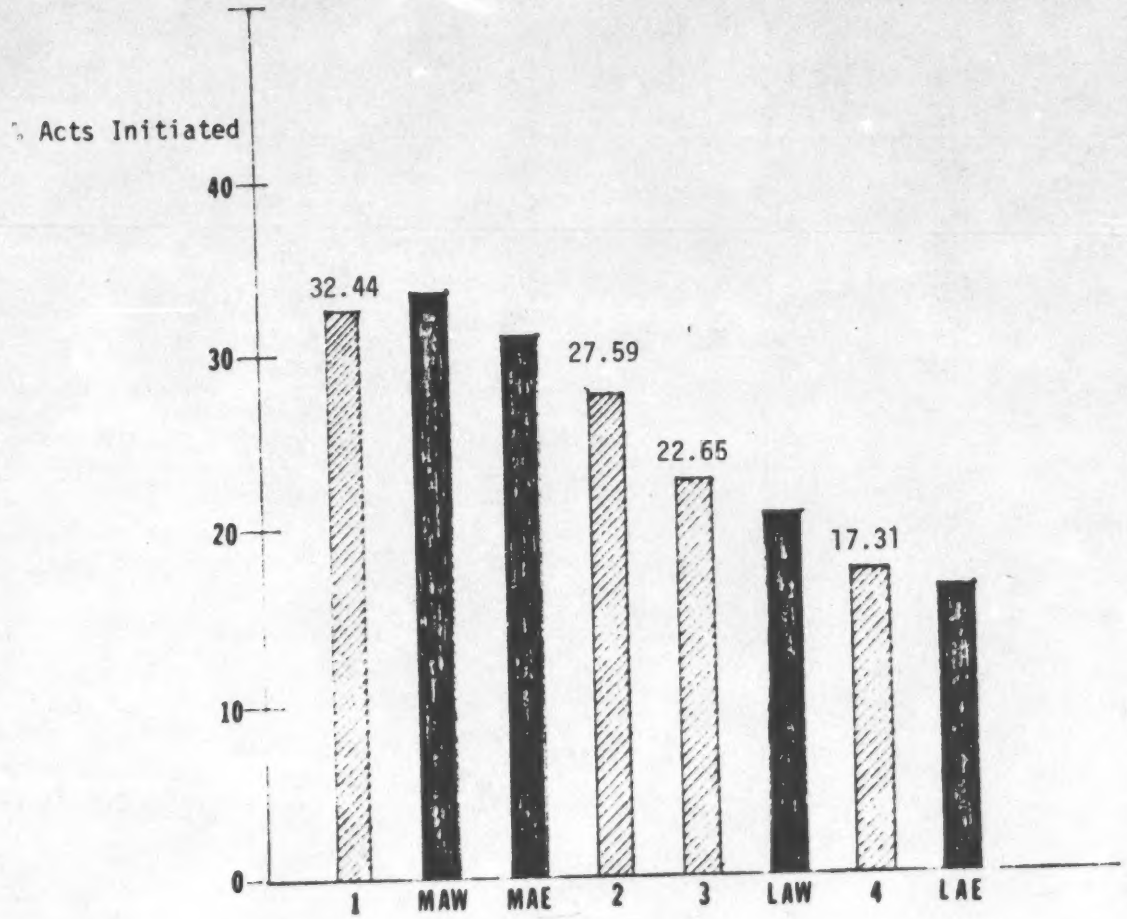
		Subjects Chosen					
		Non-Academic Training		Academic Training		Control Group	
Subjects Choosing		W*	ME**	W	ME	W	ME
A. Group member with best ideas	W	8	16	11	18	22	7
	ME	9	18	12	16	24	4
	Total	17	34	23	34	46	11
B. Group member who is liked most	W	6	19	7	23	17	12
	ME	11	17	13	16	19	9
	Total	17	36	20	39	36	31
C. Group member who guided the discussion most	W	8	17	13	17	16	11
	ME	13	13	14	15	24	5
	Total	21	30	27	32	40	16

*W = Western Subjects

*ME = Middle-Eastern Subjects

FIGURE 1

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ACTS PER GROUP: MONTE CARLO vs. OBSERVED



MAW = Most Active Westerner
MAE = Most Active Easterner
LAW = Less Active Westerner
LAE = Less Active Easterner

$\bar{X}$ % Acts: Model Actors

$\bar{X}$ % Acts: Observed Actors